1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

its greater relative isolation and freedom from outside influence. 621
It lies in the region of the upper Barama which is out of the sphere of operations of the gold prospectors who come up the river from the Waini and the coast. On the other hand, it is out of touch with those settlements higher up the Barama, which have been culturally and physically influenced by contact with the residents

JOHN COOK'S CLEARING [342]

Building	Use	Adult Occupants Male	Adult Occupants Female	Child Occupants Male	Child Occupants Female
17	Residence	Henry-Daniel	Mary		girl baby
18	Abandoned residence				
19	Residence	John	Rose	boy boy	
20	Drink house				
21	Store and utility house, former residence				
22	Residence	Daniel	Elsie		
23	Residence	John Cook	Laura	boy	girl

of Venezuela. Because, therefore, Sawari appeared to be relatively "pure" in regard to its culture and the physical type of its residents, it was chosen as the settlement to be most intensively studied.

In this section we are endeavoring to analyze the community 101
life of Sawari as it was from December, 1932, to March, 1933, the 121
period during which it was under my observation. The situation is taken as it stood, with little attempt at historical analysis, because of the paucity of historical material. I shall simply endeavor to illumine the functioning of social life in this village as a basis for

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

101 121 the understanding of Barama Carib social life in general. Carib life exhibits little institutionalism or formalism that is visible to the naked eye, little that is self-explanatory at first glance. What we desire to understand, therefore, are the factors which cause individuals to live together in a community, the factors which tend to disrupt the community, and the extent of compromise and methods whereby a balance is maintained between these opposing factors so that the stability of the group is maintained. We also wish to know how the life of the individual is enriched by community life and how the activities of the individual are coordinated with those of the group.

601 621 Let us first examine the blood relationships of the members of the settlement. In Figure 13 (at the end of the book) the blood connections of the several residents of Sawari are indicated. Here are given the English names of all individuals in the group who possess such designations, together with the terms of relationship used by Miller, the headman of the settlement, in addressing each individual. The relationship terms were checked through other men and women, and the blood lines were laboriously traced in pidgin English and through an interpreter. Even so, I am not satisfied that the chart completely represents the situation, inasmuch as one of the blood lines could not be traced satisfactorily with the linguistic resources at my command; and I am unwilling to project a geneology from the relationship terms alone. Therefore, the group of brothers composed of Samuel, Columbus, and Henry Daniel, lack precise antecedents in the chart. It was stoutly maintained that these three men came originally from another settlement and that they are distant cousins of Miller. The latter calls them pamuko, the term for male cross cousin, but I was unable to obtain a coherent explanation of the exact connection, so I have preferred to leave the connection indefinite in the chart. Since they are considered blood relatives by Miller and his group, I have so designated them on the chart.

On the chart are indicated five lines of blood relationship. Thus, Miller is demonstrably related by blood to twenty-five of the forty-seven members of the settlement (indicated by solid line); if we include the three above named brothers, Miller is the blood relative of twenty-eight members of the population. John Cook is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

I

INTRODUCTION

114 The Carib Amerindians of the Guyanas have been variously studied. The older reports by Roth (1918, 1924) emphasize material culture and mythology. The data available in the Handbook of South American Indians (Rouse 1948:547-565) are generalized and pertain to the cultural patterns of the Island Carib. Taylor (1938, 1946, 1953) and Banks (1956) have contributed to the contemporary ethnography of the Island Carib. As a precedent in Carib studies in the Guyanas, Gillin presents an ethnographic survey of a specific group, the Barama River Caribs (1936). More recent research adds a problem orientation to this specific focus. Schwerin (1966) and Kloos (1971) consider the manner in which national interests have affected local Carib groups. Schwerin reports on Carib villages affected by the oil and steel industries in Venezuela; Kloos, on Carib villages affected by a regional market for fish in Surinam.

121 114 [101] This study is formulated in reference to these previous ones. The concern here is also a specific group, the Caribs of the Upper Barama River in the North West District of Guyana. These are essentially the same Caribs studied by Gillin forty years ago. The general problem addressed is also similar to the previous ones. The [177] local impact of regional influences is considered. However, Schwerin and Kloos present synchronic analyses. As Gillin did not disguise

121 Algonkians of Canada (1956). The Schwerin report (1966) and
[14] particularly Kloos' (1971) analysis also employ a frame of reference that gives emphasis to techno-environmental factors that are generative of cultural adaptation and change.

121 Accordingly, it is proposed that the organizational strategies of
*179 human populations conform to determinants of the exploitative technologies and the resources available. This hypothesis is used to inquire into cultural change among the Caribs of the Upper Barama
• 101 River. The Carib population identified as the unit for study is a
[16] small group, currently numbering about 550. They alone inhabit the Upper Barama River drainage basin. The boundaries of the local population are identified operationally by the cultural practices which maintain a shared set of material exchanges (Rappaport 1969: 184). However, these cultural practices have changed as the
101 materials or resources available to be exchanged have been altered.
*179 Over time, external resources have been added to those locally available. What has been maintained is the common participation of this population in these exchanges. Changes affecting the resources available to the Upper Barama River Caribs will be more fully explored in Chapter II.

121 A second problem with which this study is concerned has to do
182 with certain aspects of human population ecology. Alland (1967) proposes that population adaptation is situationally specific. Accordingly, human adaptation measured by population size can be evaluated in two instances: (1) when two competitive populations occupy the same environment; and (2) when one population occupies

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

*177 subsistence agriculturalists but release labor for market endeavors
184 involving local commodities. The Caribs of Mamo in Venezuela are
594 singularly organized as nuclear families. These people have had
*177 opportunities for direct employment in industry. In no case are
• 101 these other Carib populations as impacted as the Upper Barama River
184 Carib population relative to access to regional transportation and communication and dependent on specific middlement to convey the
*177 limited market opportunities. Markets for employment and local
592 commodities have involved the Upper Barama River Caribs. However, the conditions under which market opportunities have been available have tended to separate households as well as extend them in specific cases in which client employment relationships with a middleman patron have been generated.

In conclusion, local and external resources in the context of their availability and the extent of their convertibility, or lack of it, into other forms have combined to produce the economic environment of the Upper Barama River Carib population. Clearly, aspects of social organization and changes in them, as detailed, are related to resource opportunities. With the transience of local as well as external resources, the unit of social organization which has persisted is the household.

It would appear that studies of the relationships between population size and competition for local and external resources in the process of modernization, as in the case of the Upper Barama River Caribs, are appropriate in many similar situations throughout the world. In the Guyanas, which includes the area bounded by the Rio Negro, Amazon and Orinoco rivers, local Amerindian populations are subject to a variety of geographical environments and regional influences. The geographical areas include coastal, inland mountain-savannah, and interfluvial rain forest environments (Gillin 1948:800). Nevertheless, each area is not monolithic regarding the regional influences of national agencies, missionary groups, and entrepreneural agents which also generate adaptive strategies on the part of local populations.

For example, the interfluvial area in which the Upper Barama River Caribs are found is also inhabited by other Amerindian populations, including Caribs, with different adaptations. Along the border between Venezuela and Brazil, the Yanomamö (Chagnon 1968) adapt essentially to the rain forest and engage in warfare, characterized by its attrition, which contributes to the dispersion and limitation of this population. Although they rely on the European introduced plantain as the staple crop, they are largely unaffected by direct external influences. By contrast, the Trio (Rivière 1969), a Carib speaking group, have been recently nucleated around mission stations, a Roman Catholic mission in Brazil and two Protestant missions in Surinam. Carib groups outside the interfluvial area also add contrast to the adaptations of the Upper Barama River Caribs.

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Caribe SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R 101 /11 cont./

3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C [13] [162] [433] [177] [178] —The Arawak and the Kaliña (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178] —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131] —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114 The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

B 175 144 [192]

B 141

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.